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primitive peoples, and further, to impress them, I added that my prestige (a familiar concept to natives) when I returned home would depend to a great degree on how much I knew about their customs and how accurate was my information. This was something they could understand and was, moreover, essentially the truth. They, in turn, wanted to know about "my people." So I told them about my mother, father, sisters, brother, and other relatives. Kinship here is important, and as I was asking about their relatives, it was therefore understood that they could ask about mine, or any other thing in which they were interested.

I was particularly fortunate in that the chief or "luluai" of the village was a very intelligent and fine person. His wife, also intelligent and an attractive personality, announced that she was my sister, and it followed naturally that her mother became my mother. Their house was opposite mine, and from the beginning a warm friendship sprang up. The chief, his family, and most of the Lesu people developed an attitude of responsibility for my welfare. They were rather flattered at my having come to study them instead of a neighbouring group. Word of my visit spread rapidly throughout the island, and natives from distant parts came to see so strange a phenomenon as a white woman living alone in a native village. After a while I had invitations from chiefs in other villages to visit their places. Besides this attitude of responsibility for my welfare, the natives also took the position of instructors. It was they who were teaching me the language, the magical spells, the myths and folk-tales, etc., and they took their job seriously. One day, after several months in Lesu, I made a rather amusing mistake while conversing in the native language. The verbal

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slip was repeated all around the village as a good joke, and I thought it was funny too. But not so an old man who had been my principal instructor in the language. Much annoyed, he came to see me. He asked if I didn't realize that everyone knew he was my teacher, and that when I made a mistake it reflected on him? I was properly humble and said meekly that I would try and do better next time.

My field technique consisted of several procedures. I worked with the most intelligent natives, men and women, as informants. We had long sessions at my house, when I secured magic and other ethnological data privately with one or two individuals at a time. Then, too, I attended every ceremony that took place during my stay and had long discussions about the rite after it occurred. I never went uninvited, but I was invited to everything. This was true also for purely masculine occasions such as the men's feasts. To these a couple of the important old men would escort me. I would sit quietly to one side, munching a banana or taro, and taking notes. My notebook and pencil accompanied me everywhere, and the natives took it quite for granted that I should write everything down. I explained that my memory was not good enough to remember everything they told me or that I saw, and so I wrote it down. This they understood, and some of them said that if they had writing, they would remember much better too.

Other times I would go to the gardens with the women, sit with them as they prepared the food, or join them as they gossiped and took their ease after a day's work. In the casual everyday life I was much more with the women than with the men. I felt quite free at all times to wander through the village, visiting my friends, and they in turn

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pick their mates from the Eagle moiety and *vice versa*. Transgressing this rule, either in or out of marriage, is the worse crime of Lesu society. Between the moieties there is a set of reciprocal duties, including an exchange of food at pregnancy, birth, circumcision, first menstruation, marriage, and death rites. As the members of a moiety are scattered through households, hamlets, and villages, they generally function as a unit only at these rites. The clan, on the other hand, functions frequently as an economic unit, the members assisting each other in all their important undertakings. Since it is the important old men of the clan who are the real governing force, the clan largely conditions the political structure. These men are called *orang*, which may be translated as old men of influence, rather than chief. It is they who are an informal council, meeting in the men's house and discussing and deciding any questions of importance. Young and middle-aged men listen to them with respectful attention. The position of *orang* in the clan is not inherited. At the death of one, it may fall on his brother, but there is no rule for the choice. The oldest and most influential man of the clan, regardless of his exact relationship to the dead man, will be regarded as an *orang*. His influence is based on his age, strength of his personality, and his wealth. Oratorical ability and magical knowledge also increase his prestige. The *orang* is not formally chosen by an election. In these small and primitive communities everyone knows who is the most influential man, and he maintains his position by mutual consent.

In the past, each village had a warrior chief, also called *orang*, who was distinct from the clan *orang*. He had to know war magic and was always a rich man. The position was inherited, but not in a very exact line. His brother, his brother's son, his sister's son, and his own son have all at various times inherited a dead warrior chief's position. The ability of the man and the personal preference of the old

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incumbent of the post, seem to have been important factors in the choice. However, to-day warfare has been abolished by the white Government, the warrior chief no longer exists, and it is therefore difficult to get exact information on his role. But some idea of the type of warfare, which appears to have been on a rather small scale, may be gathered from a tale of fighting between Lesu and Tagam, the two former villages now making up Lesu. The people of Lesu were considered the best fighters of the two, and the Tagam people were much afraid of them. Because of their fear, Tagam members ran away to the village of Fakmalak, and while they were gone the Lesu people stole taro from the Tagam gardens and their pigs. This went on for some time, until the Lesu people notified the Tagam people, hiding at Fakmalak, that they were ready to make peace. Accordingly the Tagam people returned and there was an exchange of *tsera* (currency) between the two. (This is the first rite in peace-making.)

The day after their return the Tagam people went to their gardens in the bush, but their chief, Seiut, stayed at home in order to make a *kepkep* (breast ornament). The Lesu people, who were not honest in their talk about peace, now sent two men to kill Seiut. They came to his house and said that they would like to watch him work on the *kepkep*. He invited them in, and they killed him by cutting his head open and slashing his body. A few of the Tagam people, who remained at home, beat the *kolamuth* (hollowed tree-trunk used as a signalling drum), and the others returned from their gardens. When they found their chief dead, they were again afraid and wanted to run away back to Fakmalak. But Lemlum, the Lesu chief, said that now they had attained their object in killing Seiut, and that they were willing to have real peace. A big feast was made by the Lesu people, who gave uncooked taro and pig to the Tagam people. Another exchange of *tsera* also took place, followed by ritual

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578 dancing in which both villages and other neighbouring ones participated. A year later Tagam gave a return feast to Lesu. Seiut's younger brother, Sagari, became the new chief for Tagam.

624 To-day, in each village the white Government appoints a
648 man called "Luluai," who acts as an intermediary between
554 the natives and Government officials. In some villages the
888 "Luluai" is a man of outstanding personality, from the family of the former fighting chief, or an *orang* of his clan and a man of real influence in the village. In other villages the choice of a "Luluai" may not be so fortunate. But even when he is a man of influence and strong personality, it is still the important old men of the clan who are the real rulers of the community. The "Luluai," if he is only a middle-aged man, is guided by them on any matter of importance.

THE FAMILY

593 The smallest unit based on kinship is the family, which cuts directly across the moiety and clan, since the father, as has been previously stated, is always of a different clan and moiety from those of his wife and children. On some occasions, when the clan functions as a unit, this division is brought out very clearly, as at the wedding rites of a daughter, when the mother and her clan relatives are active and the father is in the background. But, as a whole, the
593 ties of sentiment which develop in family life are not severed.
428 For instance, although the rule for the inheritance of pro-
611 perty as well as status is that it comes through the female line, the former frequently comes down through the male line. Inheritance of property and of status are in quite different categories. The rule concerning status is inviolable. A child is always a member of his mother's clan and moiety. But a child may receive magical spells from his father as well as from his mother's brother or mother. Although a native informant will always tell you that the latter is the

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584 or it may be that another man fancies her and has made the betrothal arrangements.

584 431 All the little girls of the village are betrothed. If it is not an infant betrothal, another one is arranged later, probably when the girl is five, six, or seven years old, to a boy who is in his teens. The man first broaches the subject to the girl's maternal uncle, who in turn discusses it with her mother; then they talk it over with the rest of their clan relatives. If he is accepted, he makes presents of food, tobacco, betel-nut (and to-day the introduced loin-cloths also) to the girl and her clan relatives, and throughout her childhood, or until the marriage takes place. (Should the original betrothal of infancy hold, that man will make the presents.) [554] The presents are given when the betrothal is assured and informally from then up to marriage. There is no stipulated amount, but the more the man gives, the greater his prestige. The betrothed man also works in the gardens of his future wife's relatives. If they live in the same hamlet, the girl at infrequent intervals gives her betrothed some baked taro, but should he come from another hamlet, she is too shy to take the food to him, so one or both of her parents carry some taro which she has baked to him. A man who stands in the relationship of preferred mate (her mother's father's sister's son) also makes frequent gifts to her, even if she is betrothed to someone else and, as we have noted, the kinship term between these two is that for husband and wife. The girl and her betrothed do not eat together until after the marriage rites, nor is there ever any demonstration of affection between them; instead, there is a shyness and restraint.

584 In the past, I was told, it was customary for the girl to go and live with her intended husband's mother for a period before the marriage. The man, of course, would at that time be sleeping in the men's house. There may have been (although I am not sure) some connection between this procedure and making certain that the girl remained a

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585 mother, a classificatory sister and brother[1] contributed
583 additional *tsera*. When I asked if this were not irregular, and why the members of Pirau's own clan, or at least moiety, did not assist him, I was told that if Pirau had asked them before he made the original payment they would certainly have helped him.[2] But he had not asked them. After he had made the payment he could not ask, nor could they offer, more. The payment was finished. Then it was that some of
[534] the members of Tsuros' clan decided to supplement the payment in order to maintain their prestige (not Pirau's). He need not repay them, but it is considered that they will be reimbursed with *tsera* at other marriage rites by those to whom they now give it.

Another marriage payment, made by Biga for his wife Nut, is more according to traditional custom. This marriage payment consists of twelve *tsera*, tobacco, and seven or eight loin-cloths. He has given four *tsera*, and the rest is contributed almost entirely by his clan relatives, although a few of his father's clan relatives have also assisted. Biga's maternal uncle, his *tata*, has been the leader in collecting the payments. (Biga works on a plantation, and has not so much free time.) The same maternal uncle goes with Biga and hands over the payment to Biga's future wife's mother and sister. Biga makes no return payment to those who have contributed to this payment, but at some future time he will assist kin of his in their marriage payments.

At the wedding rites for Tsuros the payment is ritually distributed. Sitting on the ground, the *tsera* on a mat between them, are Kokala, Tsuros' mother, and Towi and Nunda, her maternal grandfather and grandmother. Beiki, her father, stands to one side. Towi, her grandfather, stands up,

[1] These were respectively a mother's father's sister's son's daughter and a mother's father's mother's sister's son.

[2] It must be remembered that Pirau comes from a village on the west coast and has no clan relatives at Lesu.

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net is held taut on a stick stuck into the ground, the other is fastened on a small twig, which is used as a needle. If a man who does not know how to weave a net wants one, he will collect the vine from the bush and take it to any of the weaving experts, who makes it for one *tsera*. There are eight men in the village who are experts in weaving.

CARVING, WORK IN TORTOISE-SHELL, ETC.

The only carved objects are *malanggans* and masks, which are made by specialists who are paid for their work. In the village of Lesu there is just one man who is skilled in this work, and in several other villages there is only one carver. When a *malanggan* is to be made, the man who owns it instructs the carver how it is to be made, and will spend much time with him while the wood is being carved. The work to-day is done with knives purchased at trade stores. In the past sharp stones were used, and the natives say that the carving is better since it has been done with knives. It is taboo for anyone except the man who owns the *malanggan* to watch the carver at work. The latter enjoys no special prestige because of his skill. In Lesu the carver, Kanua, is a nonentity in village life aside from the work of carving. In Medina, on the other hand, the carver, who is an old man, enjoys much prestige, but he is a man of real knowledge of *malanggans* and folk-tales and an important man in his clan.

Tortoise-shell work is also confined to a few, and is done with a knife, where formerly it was done with a stone. The only objects made are the decoration for the *kepkep* and the *polok* for scooping out coconut. The latter are not made very frequently now.

The building of canoes is almost a lost art on this part of the island. No new ones were made while I was there, and the few in existence were small dugout canoes with an outrigger, but with no carving. They were more like children's canoes. The road which runs south from Kavieng a hundred

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practising magic of one kind or another, and only two are women. Of these, one knows love magic and the other medical spells. Magical knowledge is inherited, and the rule is that it be handed down in the female line, and thus stays within the clan. But in tracing how each magician received his magic, I found that it came just as often from a father as a maternal uncle or other clan relative. A magician makes a payment to the person teaching him the spells, and thereafter he guards his knowledge carefully, for as has already been shown the knowledge of magic is an economic asset.[1] Only one type of magic is usually known to a magician; for example, the rain magician will not know love magic. The exception is medical magic, which is more widely known, and so a man who is skilled in love spells may also know a few spells connected with medicine.

The thirteen magicians of Lesu form no separate class, and except for the additional prestige and income they receive they cannot be differentiated from other people. They participate fully in the daily routine of work, and a magician mends his house, clears the bush ground, brings in firewood, and looks after the baby, just as does the non-magician. A woman might know magic, but this does not exempt her from the daily toil of scraping taro. Both temperamentally and mentally the magician appears no different from any other native. He has merely inherited certain spells which he performs for himself when he needs them, or when he is paid by someone for his services. He does not seem to be of any particular type of personality. The magicians of Lesu varied widely in temperament. Some were serious and quiet, others were gay; some were exceptionally good craftsmen, and others were only mediocre. But all magicians, and non-magicians too, were equal in the sincerity of their belief in the efficacy of the magic.

The power of the magic lies in the muttered spell. The

[1] See chapter on Work.

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could not be observed, because he was already dead. But when alive the husband or wife plays the part of a chief mourner, and is the loudest and most constant of all in his wailing. But the mate never takes any responsibility for the rites. A clan relative—a son (if the dead person is a woman), a maternal uncle, a sister's son, etc.—is the one who acts as the executive, and who, with the assistance of the other members of his clan, finances the rites. But the mate obeys the food and sex taboos along with the clan relatives. It is only in the accepting of responsibility that he is relegated to the background.

The rites for Maling were more elaborate than they are for a younger person. For the number of people, the size of the feast, and in general the elaborateness of the rites, are correlated to the prestige of the dead person. And in Lesu it is only an old person who can attain prestige. No matter how strong a personality, how much intelligence, skill, or wealth a man may have, he cannot attain the heights of prestige or become a real leader until he reaches old age. The mortuary rites are graduated nicely to fit the degree of prestige. For instance, if an infant is born dead, there are no rites at all, and the body is buried immediately without feast or wailing. A young child's funeral takes place on the day of death, and is attended only by people of the neighbouring hamlets. The funeral of a middle-aged person is held the day after death, and is attended by all the village and by his clan relatives from other villages. It is only when a very old person dies that the rites become an inter-village affair, and that relatives come from far-distant settlements. Then it is that the body is held for several days, while elaborate dances are performed and a large quantity of food is collected. Thus the social position of the dead person is shown at his death, and the rites become a kind of climax, big or small as the case may be, for his life.

The rites also contribute to the prestige of the living.

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764 554 Should they not be held in appropriate fashion, those responsible will be the objects of gossip, and will fall in the esteem of their neighbours and friends, than which nothing worse can be imagined for the Lesu man or woman.

764 152 Another function of the mortuary ritual is that it provides an outlet for the emotions of the survivors. The chief mourners, the immediate family, and the mate wail long and loudly, and their wailing is brought to a ritualistic climax by the more perfunctory wails of the rest of the community. Dancing is another outlet also participated in by the whole community. Also, if besides grief over the loss of a dear relative the survivors feel sorrow due to the economic loss of one member of their clan or community, they express it quite openly. If an industrious and hard-working member of the community dies before he reaches old age, the economic loss is commented upon quite openly. One man was in a positive grouch over the death of a young man who was his maternal nephew. This meant one less person in the clan, already very small, to assist in the clan rites. When Kawitti, a middle-aged woman and industrious worker, died, all the women of the community openly lamented the loss of a worker for their communal food preparations.

Besides wailing, sorrow is also expressed in a negative manner. The immediate family refrains from the eating of the most common of foods, taro, for a certain period; and in the same way the more extended family (the immediate family and their mates) do not have sexual intercourse during this period of mourning. Similarly, the whole village refrains from having dance rehearsals. The rites thus differentiate the mourners according to their kinship to the dead person, and provide positive and negative outlets for their grief.[1]

[1] The mortuary rites have already been described in slightly more detail in the author's article, "Mortuary Rites in New Ireland," *Oceania*, September 1931.

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how to make the *Walik malanggan* and all the dances and other aspects of the rites connected with it. Just before he died Lunguma passed on this information to a clan relative, and so it has come down to the present time. This is a rather typical dream origin for most of the *malanggans*, except that for a few of them a woman has the dream. In that case she passes on the knowledge immediately to her son. The setting in most of these myths is in Tabar.[1]

Accompanying each *malanggan* are special rites, including dances, feasts, and other ritual, which have been described in their particular context. Many of the dances are interchangeable for different *malanggans*, but certain aspects of the rites, as, for example, the women walking to neighbouring villages and collecting food on the way in the concluding rites for the *Walik malanggan* (displayed at the initiation rites), and the particular way in which the women group themselves for their feast at the *Sasabwan malanggan* rites (at Logagon), are peculiar to these particular *malanggans*. But regardless of the differences in appearance and in details of rites, they all have the same general function. While they are made in honour of the dead, their making bestows prestige on the living. Should a Lesu man not make a *malanggan* for a dead mother or maternal uncle, he would fall very low in prestige, but there would be no effect on the dead person or his ghost. For, to the Melanesian native, the *malanggan* represents wealth, and not to have this for the proper ritual uses is indeed a serious matter. The identification of the carvings with wealth came out in many ways: if a man did not make a *malanggan*, it was scornfully said by everyone in the community that he did not have any wealth; in the speeches at the *malanggan* rites, stressing the wealth which had gone into their making; in an incident

[1] It seems likely that the *malanggans* came originally from the Tabar group of islands, and an investigation there might disclose more facts about their real nature.

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which occurred shortly before my departure, when some old men were watching my servants pack a few *malanggans* I was taking back with me. I had explained that they would be carefully housed (in a museum), and that "my people," who had never seen these *malanggans*, would then know about them. After my explanation the old men very seriously urged me to tell these people who would look at the *malanggans* that they were not just carved, painted pieces of wood, but that I must make the people understand all the work and wealth that had gone into the mal ng of them—the large taro crops, the many pigs, all th *tsera*, the cooking for the feast, and other essentials of the rites. These, said the old men of Lesu, are the important things to remember about *malanggans*.

SUMMARY

The Lesu man has certain fundamental and universal problems to meet, and his knowledge, magic, and religion indicate how he meets them. The knowledge concerning natural phenomena and crafts, the dependence on magic to fill in the gaps of knowledge, the myths to account for origins, the beliefs in the supernatural to give him security, indicate that his mental processes are very similar to our own. Our knowledge is more complete, but that is just a matter of degree. We have recourse to prayer, psychologically kin to magic, when we need confidence. We too have our origin myths, embedded in such institutions as the Church. Likewise we have our religious beliefs, which fulfil the same function for us as they do for the Lesu natives. It would seem then that the dynamics of thinking is the same for these Melanesians as it is for us, and that the difference is only in the content.

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There appears to be some kind of spontaneous and complementary duality which is expressed in various ways, through the moieties, in economic transactions, in the reciprocity underlying all social relations, and in the complementary nature, of relations (both social and sexual) between men and women. That this duality functions so freely in Lesu may be one reason for the relatively complete integration of society there.

As a mainspring of action the desire for prestige is most important. Without prestige a man (or a woman) in Lesu is like an uninhabited house. To have prestige among his fellows, a man makes the elaborate *malanggan* rites, and for the same reason he gives elaborate feasts on all the other ritual occasions. It is the desire for prestige that makes him obey the many social taboos and rules. To be gossiped about in a derogatory manner, to have it said that one has no wealth, that one has infringed even a minor aspect of the social code, is to bring disgrace. This aversion to even what appears as trifling but degrading gossip is well illustrated in the following incident. There is much talk in the village because Tsengali's pig has broken into Murri's garden and eaten much taro. Murri displays no particular anger, and appears undisturbed, but Tsengali is very much annoyed because of all the talk that the incident has occasioned. So he announces that he is going to Kabil, where his brother lives, to get a pig and give it to Murri to stop the talk. But Murri tells him that this would be foolish, "to eat a pig for nothing," and that Tsengali should not give him the pig. Instead Murri declares that the incident is ended, and that there should be no more talk. The affair is ended. It is interesting to note that in this incident it was the transgressor who was annoyed because of the blow to his prestige and not the offended man who had suffered a loss of taro.

At the same time, these men who are so eager for prestige disparage themselves and belittle their contribu-

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765 535 act of dancing and the symbol, or what the dancing represents. While dance rehearsals are taboo in the period immediately preceding death and in the period following death, dancing is part of the burial rites, participated in by the whole community, and represents an outward expression of their feelings aroused by the death. But the dance rehearsals have no connection with death (they may be rehearsals for circumcision, marriage, or some other rite) and as such have no psychological association with the recent event and would mar the continuum of expressed community feeling after a burial.

769 532 778 The years following the death are marked by the making of a *malaŋgon* and the giving of many feasts. The *malaŋgon* is an elaborate carving which varies in size and design. The carvings are divided into a number of large classifications, each of which is subdivided into smaller groups, and each division large and small has its own name. On a large number of them there is a figure for each dead relative for whom the *malaŋgon* is made, and sharks, birds, and fish are frequent in the design. There are also other carvings on which no figure of the dead relative occurs. The right [424] to make a *malaŋgon* is owned by a clan, which can sell the right to another clan. The original owner then loses the right to make it and must buy the right to make a different *malaŋgon* from another clan. When the *malaŋgon* is made and displayed, there are elaborate rites continuing for months and including dancing, feasts and special rites, which vary according to each particular *malaŋgon*.

769 532 554 778 The *malaŋgon* is usually made by a maternal nephew or by a son, if the dead person is a woman.[11] Occasionally other close clan relatives may make one too. The time for the *malaŋgon* rites may be a year after death, or it may be five years after death. The time depends on how long it takes to collect the wealth necessary for holding the rites. Frequently one carving will be made for several dead relatives at one time. As far as the writer was able to ascertain, the making of the *malaŋgon* and the rites concerning it

[11]The clan relative does not actually make the *malaŋgon* but pays a skilled carver to make it according to his directions.

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have no effect on the *tinualo* (ghost), the *gas* (double), or anything connected with the dead person. The rites, while nominally carried out in honour of the dead person, seem to have as their real function to increase the prestige of the survivor. Over and over again I was told that if the *malaŋgon* was not made, the clan relative who should have made it would fall in prestige, that he would be the object of much gossip, and that everyone would say that he did not have sufficient wealth to make one.' Nothing more hurtful to a native's prestige than this could be said.[12]

Besides the *malaŋgon* feasts there are many other feasts given after death over an indefinite period of years. They are made usually by one of the relatives of the extended family who observed the sleeping or sexual taboos immediately after death. The maternal nephew and the son, if the dead person is a woman, are the most frequent givers of these feasts. Many other feasts, which have an obvious purpose not connected with death, are held in the cemetery and are considered in some way not very clear to me to be for all the dead buried in that cemetery. A feast given on the occasion of a child having its first tooth, or one held simply because there is plenty of food, will be held in the cemetery and is considered in some subtle manner to be held for the dead buried there as well as for the explicit reason given.

To summarize the description of the rites, it has been shown that the chief mourners are the parents, children, and the consort. Next come the other clan relatives and after them the rest of the community. The direction of the rites and economic responsibility for them is in the hands of a close clan relative, the spouse taking no active part at all. Those observing the food taboos are the same close clan relatives and also the spouse. The sexual taboo involves a larger group, the whole extended family. Intimate duties connected with the corpse, such as washing and carrying it to the cemetery, are performed by people of the opposite moiety, who are not kindred to the dead person, and therefore not chief mourners.

[12]The subject of the *malaŋgon* is a complicated one and a monograph might be written on this alone. The writer will present material in another context.

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Members of the society come together at a feast to welcome a new member, to mourn the loss of an old one, to mark a change in the social status of the individual through circumcision, menstruation, or marriage, to note the return to the society of a member after a temporary withdrawal through illness, and before a communal enterprise such as war. Should there be a rift occasioned by a quarrel, it is the coming together over food that mends it.[3] On all these occasions society manifests its unity. While the rites vary according to the event, food is a common denominator of all of them.

The feast provides not only an opportunity for the society to express collectively those sentiments which maintain its existence, but it also serves more concretely as the occasion for the transaction of much of the business and social (apart from ritual) life of the community. It is at the feasts that trade is carried on. Payments are made for objects and services, and future trading operations are arranged. On the same occasion individuals and groups exchange gifts. A feast also frequently becomes a meeting where matters of importance are discussed. Finally, it is a sociable occasion for both sexes, when jokes and gossip are exchanged.

The second function affects the relation of the individual to his group and the relation between several individuals. The native's explanation of why he gives a feast is that he must do so to gain prestige. Rather does he put it in a negative way, that, unless he gives a feast on any of the occasions which demand one, he will be a person of no account: everyone will talk about him in a derogatory fashion, saying that he has no food or wealth, and is not able to give a feast. To a native this kind of gossip is most noxious; a lowering of his prestige must be avoided at any cost, and the number and the size of the feasts he gives are most important in affecting his position.

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(4) The ceremonial customs of a society are a means by which the sentiments in question are given collective expression on appropriate occasions. (5) The ceremonial (i.e., collective) expression of any sentiment serves both to maintain it at the requisite degree of intensity in the mind of the individual and to transmit it from one generation to another."

Professor Radcliffe-Brown has applied this theory to Andaman society and has described the various ritual occasions in the Andaman society which serve to maintain and strengthen these sentiments. He has not, however, applied his theory or mentioned it in connection with feasts. His theory of the social value of food is that "food is a possession of the society, that not only the power to obtain food, but also the power to use it without danger is something that the individual owes to society, and that the bestowal upon him of this power involves the acceptance on his part of corresponding obligations" (p. 278). This theory deals with the social value of food itself and how society overcomes the danger resulting from the social value. The above article is concerned with quite a different aspect, namely, the social function of eating.

[3] This is just the final mark that the quarrel is over. Preceding the feast there is an exchange of 'sarγ (currency) between the two disputants.

5: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1932 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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574 Around food also is focused much of the prestige of an individual in his
554 family. Here a man's standing is largely dependent upon his ability as a
586 food provider and the woman's upon her industry in preparing the food. Failure on the part of either partner to fulfill these obligations is sufficient cause for a divorce.

Social Organization

61 Before describing the feasts and showing the way in which much of life centers around food, it is necessary to give a very brief description of the essentials of the social organization. There are two exogamous moieties, the Eagle and the Hawk, which are subdivided into clans. Descent is matrilineal, the clan consisting of an extended family, all related through the female line. The next kinship unit in order of size is the individual family, which may be monogamous, is frequently polygamous, and occasionally polyandric.

621 On the basis of locality the largest unit is the village. In the district where I lived there are five villages forming one linguistic unit. This is not and never has been, as far as I could observe, a political unit. In the past, [721] warfare was frequent between the villages and there neither was nor is one chief for all of them, each having its own. The village is subdivided into [541] hamlets,—Lesu into fifteen. Residence is matrilocal and so a hamlet will usually have many female members of the same clan. The hamlet has from two to seven or eight houses, each one having its communal cooking ground [764] and generally a cook house also, for use on rainy days. With the exception of the very small ones, a hamlet has its own cemetery and men's house.

105 The society is agricultural. Gardening, fishing, hunting wild pigs, and cooking are the main everyday occupations. Trading is important and carried on according to exact and traditional rules. The familiar Melanesian gift-exchange is also practiced.

Frequency of Feasts

527 After living in this society for only a short time, one is impressed by the
574 great frequency of feasts. The following is a list of occasions on which they are held.

Occasion	Name
Pregnancy	ɑnɪng asɪl tsɛgɣ (eating for infant)
Birth	Grɪmɣsɪ (name of dance performed by women at this rite)
Giving name to infant	Basisis (name)
Several months after birth if infant is strong	ɑnɪng asɪl wɛtwɛt tsegɣ (eating for strong infant)